

PEACE NEWS

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Post-War Blackout

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE evils which have shattered western democracy during the last thirty years are at work even more powerfully during this war. The boasted unity of the British nation in the war is merely a facade, a product of propaganda. Beneath the surface the forces making for the dissolution of democracy are rampant.

When it began, a promised new world was the major inspiration behind the war. The fading out of "the vision splendid" is the major result of the three years' fighting.

The promise of a new world may be an indispensable condition of starting a modern war, but once the war has really got going it will run itself; the new world can then be dropped or even repudiated.

Already, in Britain, belief in a new world is as dead as mutton. The Atlantic Charter is as sounding brass in the speeches of despairing politicians, who more and more assume the character of marionettes on the stage of public life.

A new Europe or a new world, in definite outline, composed of living substance and full of the breath of democracy, would be the most powerful weapon either side could use. That the United Nations do not use it is the final proof that no such weapon is in their possession. It is now revealed that the Government wants nothing more than the world of 1939, spruced up but structurally unchanged.

Steps Leading Down

The process by which this major British defeat has been effected is worth some consideration. The first important step in it was the Labour Party's acceptance of Mr. Churchill's invitation to join the Government—be it noted, without guarantees. It has been understood that guarantees would be asked for, and the rank and file of the Party were shocked when they discovered that none existed on such issues as the post-war social and economic structure at home, the economic structure of Europe, the bases of international trade, the future of British imperialism, the freeing of India and the democratization of the Colonies.

The second defeat in this war for democracy was Mr. Churchill's astonishing restriction of the scope of the Atlantic Charter:

The Atlantic Charter does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time on the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire. . . . At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind primarily the restoration of sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke.

In a speech in New York last month Mr. Wendell Willkie stated that "all over the Middle East and Far East those words were cited to me with a kind of bewildered despair. People did not know what they meant."

Grand Words

Mr. Hugh Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare, had previously described the Charter as "that great weapon of our propaganda," and Mr. Attlee as "this great act of statesmanship," while on the day following his broadcasting of the Atlantic Charter to the British nation, in the grand manner of the BBC, Mr. Attlee assured a meeting of West African students that they

will not find in the declarations which have been made on behalf of the Government of this country on the war any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we fight should be denied to any of the races of mankind.

Yet in spite of Mr. Churchill's denial of this affirmation, Mr. Attlee

and his Labour colleagues remained in the Government, not, he it observed, under protest.

Three weeks ago, the Daily Herald began a despairing leading article on the Atlantic Charter:

Is the Atlantic Charter a creed or a curio? . . . When it was signed, most of us hailed the Charter as a nobler, bolder, and broader version of the Gettysburg Address. Today many think of it as the Forgettysburg Address.

Labour decided to raise the issue in the Debate on the King's Speech, but a division was not to be challenged. So democracy limps to its doom.

Another hard blow at democracy was the conversion of the electoral truce—itsself a blunder—into a policy truce, a change which was never intended by the rank and file of the Labour Party.

That conversion is the work of Mr. Churchill, who appears to have mesmerized the Parliamentary Labour Party and wholly succeeded in establishing the view that all legislation and all post-war policies which involve political and economic structural change shall be ruled out—until when, no one knows.

Velvet Phrases

On three recent occasions Sir Stafford Cripps has spoken on the necessity of restricting the scope of legislation. On one of these occasions he said:

We have now reached a stage at which it may be necessary for Parliament to consider legislation arising from or out of conditions created by the war on which there was a general measure of agreement.

A few days later that velvet-glove phrasing was interpreted by the same spokesman, in these words:

There is a real problem to be faced as to how we can maintain present political unity and at the same time be prepared to meet the difficulties of the future. Broadly speaking, those joined in the united effort from the political Left cannot expect the Government to introduce legislation merely for the purpose of bringing about a complete change in our political and economic structure. . . . Equally, those who came into the united Government from the political Right must be prepared to hurry their steps forward in some degree.

Replying to the former statement Mr. Arthur Greenwood said:—

I hope the Government will not interpret too narrowly Sir Stafford's statement. If you say "There is to be no controversy", what in fact you are saying is that the status quo gets its way. For my part that is most distasteful. It would be fatal for this country and the world if the solution of post-war problems were to be left till the aftermath of the armistice.

"Distasteful" is a rather mild word with which to describe a blow which completely knocks out the "new world," and reduces democracy to a ghost to which the substance of life will not return, even after the war. Moreover, despite Mr. Greenwood's concluding warning, he and his Labour colleagues have accepted the new ruling.

Back To The Old Order

We are to go back to 1939, sun-kissed, no doubt, with a few social ameliorations. When the fighting ceases, the traders of the world, backed by their Governments, will rush in to capture the world's markets, while at home every nation will seek to produce everything it can for itself.

Out of that conflict, in world economic conditions which will have been revolutionized out of all recognition by the war, new and worse crises will arise in which the remaining democracies will meet their doom. In the meantime, the British Government, which keeps Labour in the noose, is administratively changing the economic structure of Britain in

order to make democracy safe for fascism in the day of trouble!

Finally comes Mr. Churchill's imperialistic challenge, his use of the occasion of the military victory in North Africa to announce, in his Mansion House speech, his unchanged imperialist creed:

Let me, however, make this clear, in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter. We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

And even after that Labour sits pretty, apparently unaware that it has ensured the collapse of party politics in Britain.

We now move towards a post-war black-out, to social and international chaos and the dissolution of democracy. The "New World" propaganda has served its purpose: the Old World triumphs.

NOT TOO LATE

We hope we're not too late.

WE have seen this 'statement several times recently in letters from members forwarding subscriptions for the Dick Sheppard House Fund.

Indeed, no-one is too late for this Fund, which will be kept open, as announced, till December 31.

As Treasurers, we have estimated the fund's remarkable success on cash received and £700 promised. All this will be required if the debt is to be removed. Moreover, any surplus will meet a great necessity in the carrying out of repairs.

None of you are too late, dear friends. So please continue with your help.

ALFRED SALTER
JAMES H. HUDSON
Jt Treasurers

6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

Words of Warning

MR. CHURCHILL said in his broadcast on Nov. 29: "I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead."

Presumably the words were well considered. Stalingrad, Libya, N. Africa—all of these together do not justify even "the hope"—not "belief" or "expectation" but "hope"—that the war will not be long, or that "bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead".

That is not the opinion of the mass-man in Britain. He not merely indulges the hope, but has jumped to the conviction that final victory is very near. And Mr. Churchill has done as much as anybody to encourage that facile optimism. True, he has spoken his words of warning from time to time; but the emotional emphasis of his speeches has always fallen the other way—and the press has re-emphasized the emphasis. If, as I believe, Mr. Churchill's more guarded words correspond to the facts of the situation, we are in for a dangerous period of popular reaction.

Mediterranean Hold?

THE balance-sheet in N. Africa itself is not too rosy. On the credit side are the elimination of Rommel's threat to Egypt, and, more important—and largely owing to the realism of American diplomacy—the re-establishment of an authentic centre of French national resistance under Darlan. "Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum": which being interpreted is that Darlan's change-over is a crucial happening.

But on the other side are two ugly material facts: that the Germans now hold Bizerta and Toulon, which they did not hold before. Possession of those two great naval ports may mean almost a stranglehold on the Mediterranean which it would be foolish to minimize. And even the beau geste of the scuttling of the French fleet in Toulon harbour, when considered as a reality, reduces to a doubtful quantity.

The destruction of a warship so that she cannot be easily and quickly refloated and repaired takes a considerable amount of planning (M. Guardian, Nov. 28).

What War Means

ON the whole, the Russian offensive round Stalingrad is, from the military point of view, the more encouraging happening. It is evidence of the almost superhuman Russian capacity of endurance. They "can take it" as probably can no other nation on earth. But even in Russia "nothing has happened yet to justify the hope that it will not be a long war".

Pacifists at any rate are under no illusion as to what a long war means—the progressive degradation of human life. Tuberculosis, venereal disease, these are notoriously increasing in Britain. The automatic drafting of women into the uniformed forces is, we believe, utterly unnatural and cannot fail to have disastrous psychological and moral effects of long duration. In modern war—totalitarian war—the perversion of the life-instinct of society is carried to the utmost extremity. The more the warfare is prolonged, the more profound is this perversion, the more incapable of any morality beyond the purely animal urge to biological survival does society become.

If Mr. Churchill had any genuine power of imagination, he would view the prospect of a long war with unmitigated horror, and his actions and utterances would be guided by one sole concern: "Except those days be shortened..."

Statesmanship

IN practical terms a statesman who will not blindly jeopardize the future of society by continuing the war-process till society's powers of moral recuperation are sapped must have his mind set to make peace as soon as possible. If he sets complete victory as the indispensable condition of peace, he is bent on prolonging the war as long as possible. Even if he does (as by hypothesis the war-leader must) accept war as an instrument of policy, he is a blind leader of the blind if he reckons the pursuit of victory itself a policy. To be a statesman his mental eye must be ever on the alert to discern the moment when the balance of military power is such that the policy can be achieved. Obviously, such statesmanship is impossible when there is no policy. Mr. Churchill shows no sign of having one. The available evidence is that he is devoid of true statesmanship. In his mind war itself is policy.

That is true, in one terrible sense. Prolonged war makes policy impossible, but has fearful political consequences: for it steadily narrows the field in which conscious policy is possible. It hands the future of society over to unconsciousness and

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An Important Document

MR. AMERY is a candid man. On Sep. 29 he made a speech on India, of which the full text has come into our hands. In it he put forward arguments why a self-governing India should remain within the British Empire.

The first problem that will face a self-governing India (he said) is that of defence. Whatever arrangements the United Nations may agree upon after the war... we none of us now cherish the illusion that world-peace can be preserved on the cheap by merely setting up some scheme of international machinery. The spirit of aggression and the organized power behind it may yet revive in many forms, and the desire of peace-loving nations to maintain the common peace will be of little avail without the backing of effective armed preparation.

That preparation, moreover, must be on a scale and of a character to meet the conditions of future warfare. It will be essentially mechanical whether in the air, on land or on sea. It must consequently be based on highly developed mechanical industries with all the technical skill which they create. It will be immensely costly and demand for its foundation great economic resources and large revenues...

How will India stand in that respect? Her latent resources, material and human, are such that, given domestic peace and wise leadership, nothing should prevent her from attaining to a position in which she could create and afford, without undue sacrifice, all the defensive equipment of a Great Power. She is far from being in that position today. To construct, to man or to pay for, the vast fleets of warships, aeroplanes and tanks required for the single-handed defence of her territory and her trade will for a very considerable period be beyond her capacity. For that period at least, if she is to develop in peace and safety, she will have to look to some stable alliance or association with others whose interests coincide with hers.

In the interval she will be concerned to build up her industries, to create the skilled organizers and technicians essential to lead and man her industries and her fighting services. Even more important and fundamental will be the task of raising the standard of living and of education of her vast agricultural population in order to create that surplus of output and ability above the needs of mere existence which is the true measure of a nation's strength.

We make no apology for the long quotation. It is the Churchill philosophy without the Churchill rhetoric; the Churchill world, with a more candid diagram of its anatomy. It is an important document of the mentality of the contemporary British statesman, and deserves to be on record.

Even now, after years of experience in disillusion, we are astonished that Mr. Amery shows not the faintest sign of having paused to think what he was saying: not the faintest sign of a recoil of horror at his own words. This is the future of mankind, and Mr. Amery is content with it.

He does not feel, he is not visited by any intimation, that he is speaking the obvious and absolute doom of a "civilization". The purpose of man's life in society is to acquire the industrial and technical skill necessary for preparation for war on an ever more colossal scale. If Mr. Amery's mind conceives of another purpose, he is completely silent about it, wise in his generation, for the future he counts on leaves no room for it.

We say peremptorily that a civilization animated and governed by such entire blankness of vision is doomed, and deserves to be doomed. It will inevitably sink into chaos and darkness and despair: stagger back to the degradation of the herd, from which humanity has struggled to uplift itself. We insult the herd. At the animal level the herd is a valid thing: but a herd of mechanized humans, using their techniques and their consciousness, only to concentrate every atom of their combined strength on the task of utterly destroying another herd, is a thing at which the imagination vomits. That an Amery should be the warder of a Gandhi means that our moral chaos is entire.

U.S.A. and the Settlement

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

necessity, and extrudes the human faculty of judgment from the direction of human affairs.

Mr. Churchill's Hunch

INSTEAD of a policy, Mr. Churchill has a hunch that the war in Europe may come to an end before the war in the East. In continuing the war against the Japanese, the unity of the United Nations would be preserved.

It seems to me that should the war end thus—in two stages—there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles. Then the danger had passed away. The common bond between the Allies was broken. I should hope, therefore, that we shall be able to make better solutions of the problems of Europe than was possible a quarter of a century ago.

It should be remembered, first, that Russia is not at war with Japan; second, that the evidence is accumulating that USA will be even more averse than she was in 1919-1920 to guaranteeing any political "settlement" in Europe.

New Alliance?

THE attitude of USA is likely to be decisive. An article in The Times (Nov. 30) quotes Mr. Sumner Welles's belief that the people of the United Nations "will insist that the United Nations undertake the maintenance of an international police power in the years after the war." It comments: "But this idea would find little acceptance among Americans generally if it appeared in the light of an army of occupation or of a guarantee of frontiers."

The astute American correspondent of the Economist (Nov. 28) goes a great deal further. "In the shadowy interminable world of emotion and imagination, it would be untrue to suppose that Britain is making a good showing. India, incredibly simplified as an issue between light and darkness, is universally discussed. Singapore, Malaya, Burma are still symbols of imperial decadence. There is real danger that the United Nations may come to suggest to people's minds an alliance with China, Russia, and the United States for the purpose of liquidating—with the highest motives—the British Empire."

Trends in U.S.A.

WHAT makes this suggestion more alarming is that it offers a platform of reconciliation between Mr. Willkie's new Republicanism and the old-style anti-British isolationism. At this precise moment I read that Mr. Willkie has abandoned his campaign against the appointment of Mr. Schroeder, an arch-isolationist, as Chairman of the National Committee of the party. Ex-presidential candidate Alfred Landon has been adopted as a compromise.

Mr. Churchill's brand of imperialism will only play into the hands of these forces, which are deeply rooted in American tradition. It would require imaginative statesmanship of a very high order indeed to elicit from the American mass-man a willingness to co-operate effectively with Britain in establishing a new European order. The Americans will probably be willing to give generous material and technical assistance to Europe; but this relief-work will be rather directed against than toward political co-operation with Britain. Already, Mr. Walter Lippmann is warning his readers: "As we liberate Europe we shall uncover an unresolved European tendency to civil war." One more argument why Americans should keep out of the way. They have a prejudice of long standing against intervening in civil wars. Yet again it will not have escaped notice that American policy towards France differs very markedly from our own.

"Myth-Makers"

I DO not suggest that these tendencies in USA make a simple and coherent pattern. Moreover, it is easy to be caustic over the moral contradictions in American idealism—to contrast, for example, the defeat of the attempt to abolish the Southern States poll-tax, whereby the negro is systematically disfranchised, with the ardour of Americans for the liberation of the subject peoples of Britain. Nevertheless, the power of USA after the war will be tremendous. And a potent "myth" is now being created for the American mass-man. In this "myth" Britain has no part; or rather is, by implication, the Ugly Sister.

"Mr. Wallace and Mr. Willkie are politically poles apart; but they are the nearest to 'myth-makers' the American people have to listen to today. It is significant that they are both creating the same image—that of a world-coalition of United Nations, dedicated to the extirpation of imperialism everywhere and broadly based upon the work, hopes and aspirations of the 'common people'." (Economist, Nov. 28).

On the other hand, the idea of Anglo-American collaboration is felt to be "a veiled attempt to perpetuate the supremacy of the white race, to maintain imperialism, to defeat the subject nations' passionate desire for freedom."

New Situation

THE idealism of this "myth" is directly challenged, and its anti-British potentiality reinforced, by Mr. Churchill's imperialism. The wise British statesman realizing how necessary will be the friendly support of USA, would make every effort to divert this sentiment from the anti-British channels into which it can so easily be turned. He would admit publicly that, if the war is to last much longer, our already great dependence on USA will be far greater.

That may be an unpleasant situation. But it is the reality. The USA will have the power to decide the terms on which our Far Eastern empire will be restored, if it is restored; the terms on which relief will be given to Europe. In this matter Russia will be as impotent as we. Unless we are prepared openly to accept the new situation, we shall find ourselves bearing the odium of overt political and military control of Europe, while America gets the credit for the philanthropy.

IN fact, the wise British statesman would be preparing for our retirement from the invidious position of arbiter of Europe. Without mental reservations or any thought of Versailles chicane, he would be encouraging America to take a free hand in Europe. He would give up the dangerous idea of inducing America to share responsibility with Britain for the pacification of Europe. We shall only be left with the babies—ranging from bears to hyaenas.

It will take every scrap of what energies remain to us to put our own house in order enough to avoid totalitarianism. By the same token we should be preparing to hand over to America more and more of the responsibility for the conduct of the war and the effort of waging it.

Moral Prestige

INSTEAD, therefore, of being critical of Darian's new dignity, we should be grateful to the USA for relieving us of our embarrassing commitment to de Gaulle. The more the USA will take an independent political initiative in Europe, the better will it be for us in the long run. And it is further to be considered that USA is the actual melting pot of the European nationalities, where even Germans and Czechs and Poles, even Italians and Serbs can live amicably together.

The United States is in itself a "myth" for Europe today. On the whole during the 18th and 19th centuries, Britain was the "myth" for Europe. Just as the latter did not mean that constitutional monarchy could be established in Europe, so the former does not mean that Europe can be turned into a United States. But it does mean that the Americans have taken over the moral prestige which we once enjoyed in Europe. We had better let them get on with it.

Assuredly, the less we have to do with any peace-settlement after this atrocious war the better for us. To the precise extent of our intervention we shall be saddled with the responsibility for Europe's inevitable miseries.

Symbolic Exit

"WHEN Sir Stafford Cripps joined the Cabinet, the people's questioning ranged over the whole field of war and peace. Now, when he leaves it many doubts about the war itself have been stilled; but all the wider and longer uncertainties remain. Until these doubts have been set at rest by firm proofs of the Government's intentions, many will regard the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps, rightly or wrongly, as being as symbolical as his arrival. The issue is not the merit or demerit of particular ministers. What is at stake is the vitality of democratic leadership which has been so grievously sapped by a decade of 'national' governments."

Thus the Economist (Nov. 28). It is not likely that we should agree with its conception of democratic leadership. (When did we last have a "vital democratic leadership", anyway? Mr. Lloyd George of Limehouse?) But the implied criticism of the Churchill Government remains valid. By dropping Cripps it has dropped the temporary facade, and has blazoned its own negativity. Modern war is negation enough without the ornament of a negative social revolution.

(Continued on page 4)

Those Favourable Circs.

By OWLGLASS

and announce that force won't get us anywhere.

I must say it will be exciting.

*

THIS question—When do impracticable ideals become practicable?—is an old one. The other day I turned up a news cutting dated just before the war, reporting a sermon by the Bishop of Southampton in which he asked—"What sort of reception would Christ get from the Church if he returned here today?"

I cannot speak for the Church as a whole, but I can tell you, verbatim, what my friend, the Vicar of Much Mucking, will say if he's in the chair when Christ addresses a meeting in the Parish Hall:

Well, my friends, I'm sure we all—ah—heartily applaud the spirit and intention of the—ah—excellent if somewhat Utopian principles which our—ah—Friend has outlined with such obvious sincerity and conviction. As a basis for an ideal social order they would, no doubt, with certain—ah—modifications, merit our most earnest consideration.

It is, however, unhappily only too clear that the world is not yet ready for acceptance of such—ah—ideal standards of behaviour. We all trust that in God's good time a more—ah—propitious occasion for some such—ah—social experiment may present itself.

But in the meantime, until we have some guarantee that other nations are ready to co-operate, we must continue to do the best we can, until more favourable circumstances arrive.

Ahem. We will now sing hymn number...

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RECENT remarks by General Smuts about Gandhi arouse interesting speculations.

Gandhi, he says, is one of the world's great men. He is a man of high ideals. But—"many of his ideals are impracticable under present-day circumstances."

In this connection we may recall Jerome K. Jerome's observations on work:

I like work; it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours. I love to keep it by me; the idea of getting rid of it nearly breaks my heart.

Similarly, General Smuts loves Gandhi's pacifism. He can sit and look at it for hours. But the idea of putting it into practice gives him an attack of imperial jitters.

This roughly expresses the general attitude towards pacifism, and confronts us with the following situation: Pacifism is desirable. But circumstances do not permit us to advocate it. Therefore, while desiring it, we must continue to oppose it until favourable circumstances arrive.

*

THREE difficult questions arise here: (1) What are the favourable circumstances? (2) How can they be brought about? (3) How shall we know when they have arrived?

Now, I have sounded opinion on this matter and I gather that the circumstances will be favourable to pacifism when the world is ready to accept it. How, then, is the world to be persuaded to accept it?

Not by propaganda, certainly. For propaganda must begin as minority opinion, and it is our duty to oppose pacifism until it becomes majority opinion.

Therefore it is obvious that we can

do nothing to create these circumstances ourselves. Favourable circumstances can only arrive of their own accord, like a heat-wave or an economic blizzard.

I do not know how their arrival will be discerned. No doubt a joint committee of the Meteorological Office and the Institute of Public Opinion will be appointed to look out for them, and the BBC will stand by for a special announcement.

And while we are awaiting news of it the papers will tell us that Circumstances are Turning the Corner, and the Premier will announce that the Government is watching the situation closely.

*

ONE thing is certain: the switch-over will be sudden and abrupt. There must come a specific moment when circumstances cease to be unfavourable and become favourable.

At 7.59 p.m. on the evening of October 1, 19—, Gandhi will still be impracticable. At 8 o'clock precisely he will be practicable. That'll make him sit up.

The reaction on the public will be dramatic. For example, a man will be in a pub drinking bitter and saying that the United Nations must police Europe. Suddenly, Circumstances will cross the Rubicon. Impelled by an uncontrollable impulse, he will put down his bitter, order a pint of mild, and observe that the European situation can only be solved by total disarmament.

Or a politician will be addressing a meeting on the need for collective security against aggression. Suddenly he will stop in the middle of a sentence, apologize to the chairman,

Indian Deadlock

By HOWARD WHITTEN

WHAT the Parliamentarians, discussing India, normally overlook is that the time for brave words, post-dated cheques, charters, "conventions" (not to use powers of veto, etc.) is past.

In this the Indians are more realist than ourselves. They cannot hear our professions of sincerity. The noise of the guns is too great. And our own actions speak pretty loudly.

The official reaction to the failure of the Cripps proposals was one of scarcely disguised relief. "Here we are and here we stand" was the attitude. We could go no further. "Masterly inactivity" took on a new lease of life.

Since then there has been an "unarmed rebellion", in which the police and the troops have been masterly and active. When pressure was put on the authorities to "reopen negotiations" it was rightly said that no alternative to the Cripps plan was "on paper". Even this purely technical objection has now been met.

AN EX-PREMIER'S PLAN

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, who resigned from Congress Working Committee because he wished to concede the principle of partition, or Pakistan, is perhaps the most reputable and distinguished nationalist leader still at liberty.

His plan for a settlement was elaborated at Delhi on Oct. 21. It proposed that the Viceroy should invite the

most popular and responsible Indian leaders to form a government. Thereafter the Viceroy should arrange for direct elections to the provincial legislatures and indirect elections to the Central Legislature from the provincial legislatures. It was said that elections were not practicable during the war, but it was as practicable to organize elections as to suppress disturbances, and disturbances would come to an end in the event of the Government acting on the lines which he proposed.

The Viceroy should nominate five leading Congressmen and ask Mr. Jinnah to add as many men as he chose. These nominees should add three more "who might serve as a binding factor between the two large parties."

If the transfer of power were real, he explained, neither Gandhi nor Jinnah could refuse to accept such a Government without losing leadership. The provisional Government would give the Moslem League an assurance that Pakistan would not be prejudiced by their participation.

"Rajaji" believed that his plan would be acceptable to both Congress and the League. Congress leaders, of course, were not able to speak for themselves, and the effectiveness of the plan depended upon his gaining access to the internees.

The reception accorded the plan by the Indian press was, on balance, encouraging. Mr. Jinnah's paper, Dawn, offered one minor amendment—that Mr. Gandhi, not the Viceroy, should select the Congress nominees, and so commit himself explicitly to the plan. Particularly, it applauded the idea of new elections, arguing that a Cabinet responsible to 35 million Indian electors would be far more representative than one responsible to 22 million British electors. The retiring editor of the Calcutta Statesman claimed that Mr. Jinnah would certainly respond to such an invitation. Only the Congress newspapers, in the silence of their jailed leaders, remained cautious.

BACKING SOUGHT

The next stage was to create a united front of Indian support for the plan. To this end Rajagopalachari had long talks with Jinnah, after the

Council of the Moslem League had met.

In the meantime he had answered the one serious objection to the plan—could a predominantly Congress legislature dismiss the composite Cabinet by a simple majority vote? elections, arguing that a Cabinet responsible clearly crucial. "Rajaji" declared that it could not; that the Government would be in office expressly for the duration of the war and would be responsible to Muslim and non-Muslim alike, "jointly and severally."

Armed with the unpublished results of his talks with Jinnah, he saw the Viceroy because, as he said, he saw the prospect of the settlement distinctly before him. He asked for permission to see Gandhi. This was refused, chiefly, it would appear from the Delhi statement, because "he could speak only for himself" and "did not represent any party or organization."

LAST HOPE

The plan was thus effectually sabotaged, since it has been freely admitted that no solution which does not include Congress will succeed. There remained the alternative—and less hopeful—possibility that a new breath of air might percolate some closed minds if "Rajaji" could come to London.

A number of eminent persons signed an appeal sponsored by the Union of Democratic Control, pleading for facilities to be given him.

The Secretary of State replied after some delay refusing permission. "Rajaji's" scheme had not "the agreement of the main Indian

parties... The Moslem League has given no indication that it is prepared to consider it... as the difficulties lie in the differences between the Indian parties, any discussion should take place in India and not in this country." This was a first-class rebuff to everybody seeking a settlement.

The India Office moves from argument to argument with agility. It is true, of course, that the discussions should take place in India—they would if the Viceroy were to allow them. It is not true that this plan has no support from the main Indian parties—until Congress has been consulted it is a mere conjecture. Rajagopalachari, at least, does not share it. As for the Moslem League, on which Mr. Amery always falls back, they will turn when Congress turns.

WILL IS LACKING

What emerges from "Rajaji's" efforts to secure a settlement is the fact that there is no will for a solution, either in Whitehall or in New Delhi.

The arguments which are used in refusing permission to visit Congress leaders would justify their retention in solitary confinement until the end of their lives. If there were any willingness to transfer power to Indian hands here was an opportunity which could be accepted without loss of face. It has been curtly rejected.

Even the veteran "moderates" like Sir Tej Sapru are now doubting our willingness to solve this problem—except by repression. What use is it, says Sir Tej, to extol Rajagopalachari and at the same time obstruct his efforts? It is of no use to India, though doubtless it has its uses.

Cat and Mouse

IN your issue of Sep. 18 you were good enough to include a letter from me drawing attention to two severe cases of "cat and mouse" treatment of conscientious objectors. Gerald Henderson, of West Hartlepool, a religious objector, had been court-martialled five times, his fifth sentence being one of 15 months' imprisonment. I am glad to say that Gerald Henderson has now made his sixth appearance before a conscientious objectors' tribunal and has at last been held to have a genuine conscientious objection to military service.

The success of Gerald Henderson lends added point to the claims of the other man, Stanley Hilton, of Rochdale, also a religious objector. Although he has been court-martialled only three times, Stanley Hilton has already served sentences of one year's imprisonment and two years' detention (commuted to seven months) and is now serving a term of two years' imprisonment.

Is it not time to call a halt? The discharge of this man from prison and from the army would be wise administration, for it must be clear by now that he will never make a soldier and that while in prison he is a complete loss to the community.

FENNER BROCKWAY
Chairman.

Central Board for
Conscientious Objectors,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

"Penguin Island"

Recently re-reading "Penguin Island," I came upon the following observations:

1 "The Penguin democracy did not govern itself. It obeyed a financial oligarchy which formed opinion by means of the newspapers, and held in its hands the representatives, the ministers, and the president. It controlled the finances of the republic, and directed the foreign affairs of the country as if it were possessed of sovereign power."

2 "The financiers, both Christians and Jews, became by their insolence and their cupidity the scourge of the country, which they plundered and degraded, as well as the scandal of a government which they never troubled either to destroy or preserve, so confident were they that they could operate without hindrance under all governments."

3 "The war against the Emerald Republic was voted with uplifted hands by a very large majority."

"What?" said Obnubile to the interpreter, "you have voted a war with that rapidity and that indifference!"

"Oh! it is an unimportant war which will hardly cost eight million dollars."

"And men..."

"The men are included in the eight million dollars."

But perhaps I (or rather Anatole France) should not encroach on your valuable space, considering that "Penguin Island" was first published in 1909. The Jewish question was then of smaller significance. Churchill and Stalin of smaller still, and the Great War had not slaked the thirst of the financial gods.

9 Forest Rd., Aberdeen.
W. P. CHALMERS

Owing to illness, Sybil Morrison will be unable to accept any engagements to speak until the New Year.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Land & Tariffs

MAY I put in a plea for consistency when pacifists are discussing agriculture at one time and tariffs at another. Even in a recent paragraph by "Observer" on "Use of the Land" there was a plea for protectionism in favour of wheat farmers, and prejudice created against free trade by a reference to the "unblushing exponents of pure laissez-faire". I am concerned for the mischief done to the cause of peace by such discredited economics as the suggestion that farming must be ruined unless there is a tax on corn imported from abroad, or some equivalent form of protection.

The pamphlet issued by the PPU on the "Political Basis of the PPU" says that we must "work to abolish the present economic restrictions prescribed between nations—often referred to as economic nationalism. This will entail the abolition of the present system of preferential tariffs." In the seven practical points for immediate objectives in the same pamphlet, No. 4 is "To abolish political and economic nationalism." For years pacifists have been saying that trade barriers have been a major cause of the present war. Now it is suggested we must revert to a tariff on corn after the war.

The PPU is agitating against the food blockade. To protect farmers by an import duty is equivalent to blockading ourselves to the extent that the duty keeps wheat from being imported.

If, again, a tax is put on Canadian wheat, Canada will want to balance it with a duty on our manufactures. If we tax Russian or American wheat, then Canada will want a preference, and we are then back in the international wrangling which is a form of incipient warfare. Whatever "laissez-faire" may be when rightly understood, protectionism is as much an application of force as are blockading fleets and armies. "What protection teaches us, is to do to ourselves in time of peace what enemies seek to do to us in time of war" (Henry George).

DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN

12 Hillside Rd., Offerton, Stockport.

"If This War is Won"

I feel I must join issue with Humphrey S. Moore.

If this war is won by the United Nations, there will be far more chance of peace in the settlement if the "Coves" are in the ascendant, than if, as seems probable, the "Vansittarts" hold all the places of influence.

Pacifists can have little hope of converting men in the mass to their own way of thinking, especially in war-time. One of the chief functions of pacifists at the present time is to try to check the drift towards race hatred which is a natural outcome of war. We should, I think, be ready to co-operate with all men of good will towards this limited objective, even though we may part company with them on the wider issue of peace or war.

BRIAN E. BOWLS

80 Ridgeway, Weston Favell, Northampton.
Land and Tariffs

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

New Pamphlet Scheme

By JOHN W. COWLING

NEXT Friday it is hoped to publish the first of a new kind of pamphlet, designed to sell cheaply and to give a factual commentary of about 2,500 words on subjects of current importance.

As pamphlets of this nature need an assured basic "market" and rapid distribution, it has been decided that the present method of distributing Peace News—chiefly through regional and group distributors—would be the most suitable way of handling these new publications. Distributors have therefore already received full details of the scheme, under which it is hoped to produce twelve publications of this kind within a year (though not necessarily at exactly regular intervals). The normal price will be 1d.

This step was not taken without much consideration. In many cases the work of distributing the paper itself takes up a good deal of time.

A SIX-PAGE

CHRISTMAS ISSUE

of Peace News will be published on Dec. 18.

Among several topical features will be a cartoon specially drawn by Arthur Wragg and articles by George M. Ll. Davies and Vera Brittain.

Once again we offer groups extra supplies of this issue at half-price (9d. per dozen); orders for extra quantities must be received at the Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Monday, Dec. 14.

The following week's issue, dated Dec. 25, will be dispatched on Wednesday instead of Thursday; alterations to orders for that issue must be in our hands by Friday, Dec. 18.

Make plans now for the most effective use of the special Christmas issue, and let us know how many you will need.

But although some of our staunchest supporters in this direction naturally do not want to add to their commitments they have recognized the value of this method of distribution for the new pamphlet-commentaries and are giving us good support.

MOSLEM LEAGUE FACTS

The first pamphlet will be by Howard Whitten, and will give facts about the Moslem League in India unobtainable in any other similarly compact form.

Extracts from the last issue of Harijan have just been published at 1d. under the title "What Gandhi Really Said," in advance of the launching of the scheme outlined—though it would have been included in it but for the undesirability of delay. The sale this pamphlet has already achieved, and the favourable comments we have received on the plan to publish such factual material more frequently, shows that the new scheme will fulfil a real need.

If you have not already asked your Peace News distributor to supply you with these new pamphlets as they are issued, get in touch with him without delay.

Pacifism and Politics

Thank you for your leader, "Pacifism and Politics". At the eleventh hour you have warned your readers of what has happened to a society which—unbelievable as it sounds now—was founded by a Christian gentleman. But, Sir, I warn you to be careful. Even as I write, the PPU Soviet may be meeting in solemn conclave to consider what punishment should be meted out to the "fascist" Editor of Peace News. Whether or not you will be allowed to live, I cannot say. But one thing I know; if you are banished from pacifist territory the time-honoured socialist reason will be given; "He was a traitor to our cause".

F. W. ENGLEHEART

4 Prospect Rd., New Barnet.

essential information:

What Gandhi Really Said

A series of extracts from the last issue of HARIJAN before his arrest including his letter 'To the Japanese.'

AN IMPORTANT PAMPHLET AT A VERY LOW PRICE

1d (post free, 2d.) from The P.P.U. Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

NEW NATIONAL SERVICE BILL

ON Nov. 26, a new National Service Bill was read a first time in the House of Commons. Printed copies of the Bill are not yet available, but the purpose of the Bill is stated as being

To authorize the making of preparatory arrangements for the calling up of male persons who are about to become liable to be called up for service under the National Service Acts, 1939 to 1941;

To simplify the making of proclamations for the purposes of those Acts; and

To amend the provisions of those Acts relating to exemptions.

It is not yet known what the exemption provisions are likely to be, but the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors is watching the position closely.

DUTCH C.O.s

The November issue of the CBCO Bulletin related the story of seven Dutch people refusing military service in South Africa who were arrested and shipped to Britain under a military escort. Three of these subsequently accepted service, but the other four refused service, saying that they were conscientious objectors, and asking to be allowed to appear before the appropriate Dutch Tribunal in this country.

The rather informal Dutch Tribunal hearings have now taken place, and three of the men, Adrianus J. Beale, Johannes K. Kilian, and Willem J. H. Janssen have been registered as conscientious objectors. At the same time, they have been notified that it has not yet been decided whether they shall be required to take up civil work of national importance in this country or whether they shall be returned to South Africa.

There is no unconditional exemption under Dutch law. The Central Board, in conjunction with the War Resisters' International, is pressing for these COs to be returned to South Africa.

The fourth CO, Jacob W. Jansen, was required to go to a Royal Dutch Army camp. This he refused to do, and was placed in custody to await an escort.

One of the men who accepted service, K. J. van der Spek, was subsequently found to be medically unfit and is to be returned to South Africa.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Cobham and Escher—Talbot R. Price, 13 Dallington Court, Hershaw, Walton-on-Thames. Hereford individual adviser.—Wilfrid Tyldesley, 13a Victoria St., Hereford.

Skegness individual adviser.—Leonard Temple, 2 Sunningdale Cres., Skegness.

LONDON REGIONAL BOARD FOR C.O.s

C.O.s AND INVASION

A Meeting of Advisory Bureau Workers and C.O.s in Civil Defence will be held on SAT., DEC. 12, at 2.30 p.m. sharp.

at FRIENDS' HOUSE, Euston Rd., London N.W.1

Speakers: PETER HUNOT, RONALD SMITH, ROBERT S. W. POLLARD. Chairman: LEONARD TRAYNER

GO TO IT! NORTH LONDON REGION presents

NORTH LONDON PLAYERS in THE PASSING OF THE THIRD FLOOR BACK

by Jerome K. Jerome the play produced by Leslie F. Pitt, L.R.A.M.

in the Theatre of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, John Carpenter Street, E.C.4.

on Saturday, Dec., 19, at 3 p.m.

Tickets: Stalls 2s.; Balcony 1s. 6d. Admission by ticket only. Obtainable from P.P.U. Endsleigh St., London Area Office and Nellie Harby, 74 Ingleton Rd., N.18.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS for PEACE-LOVERS

POETRY—BLOOD AND SWEAT AND TEARS By RONALD S. MALLONE Wartime verse by a pacifist poet, with an introduction by VERA BRITAIN

THE ABSENT CHRIST

By the Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER Poems by a well-known "pacifist parson" Introduction by SYBIL THORNDIKE FICTION

THE EDGE OF THE WORLD

By HOWARD KENT Five stories by a pacifist writer. "Real beauty," writes Vera Britain

EACH 1s. 6d. POST FREE 1s. 9d. The three 5s. post free. Order from new vision publications

47 ARGYLE SQUARE W.C.1.

Pleas for Greece, Belgium & Holland

THE Government has recently been approached by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Hinsley on behalf of the Famine Relief Committee with a request for the transport of vitamins and dried milk to Greece and Belgium. The quantities required have been carefully worked out by the Committee, and cover children up to 16 years of age, expectant and nursing mothers, and invalids.

The M. Guardian, Nov. 26, reporting this, adds that the distribution will be done by the Swedish and Swiss Red Cross Societies.

The Lancet, Nov. 28, has added support to this appeal, commenting that

dried milk and vitamins represent that maximum of nourishment for the smallest amount of shipping space. Distribution can be controlled because the bulk is small, and the materials can be surely and conveniently handled by the welfare and feeding centres.

In a reference to the appointment of Herbert Lehman, retiring Governor of New York, as "Director of Foreign Relief", the Lancet fears that after the war

will be too late for hosts of those who are starving now. Immediate prophylaxis will have the backing of all who twenty years ago saw the irreversible results of starvation during the period of growth. English children might have been the hungry ones this winter if chance had taken a slightly different turn.

Prof. Emile Cammaerts has again appealed (M. Guardian, Nov. 21) for

Belgian relief now. "There are cases in war-time," he suggests, "in which the spontaneous reaction of those who wish to answer a call for help is more clear-sighted than the coolest calculations." In The Times Educational Supplement, Nov. 7, Prof. Cammaerts sketched present conditions in Belgium, and concluded:

The fate of the next generation in Belgium does not depend on what can be done on a lavish scale in two or three years from now. It depends on what can be done, even on a small scale, within the next two or three months.

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph (Dec. 1) learns that the Dutch Government in London is considering an approach to the British Government to seek relief for its people

who are suffering from the food shortage and the consequent increase in disease... According to the latest information in London, the death-rate among children under four years has risen by 31% compared with 1939 and, among adolescents, by 43%.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

FURNISHED and Unfurnished Accommodation in pacifist household, N. London, convenient bus and rail. Box 634 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

NOTTINGHAM, or near. C.O. and wife (2 children) urgently require house, up to 17s. 6d. clear. Box 638 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 82 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

KIDSTONES SCHOOL, Bishopdale, Leyburn, Yorks, now established as Educational Trust. Thus financial considerations need not debar your children from joining. Progressive methods. Fully qualified staff. Safe, healthy area. Home farm. Co-educational from 7 years.

FOR SALE & WANTED

CARAVAN, Let or sell, £75. D. Kinver. 97006517, 9. N.C.C., Codford, nr. Warminster, Wilts.

CHRISTMAS C. RDS specially produced and hand-printed. Original designs and peace verses 2d.; verses only 1d.; postage extra. Assortment on sale or return post free to groups 5s. Write Mary Osborn, Laverton, Broadway, Worces.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS of money, books, toys, and clothes will be gratefully received by Patrick Figgis Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd., Bow, E.3.

LAMB BRAND RIBBONS. Finest, cleanest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid. Name typewriter colour(s) and Peace News. Lambs, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

RADIOGRAM or Radio Set or Electric Gramophone Motor wanted. 20 Lisson Grove, Marylebone, N.W.1.

WANTED for Christian Guest House in Cote-wolds. Games, indoor and outdoor. Will anyone give or sell cheaply? Please send Old Rectory, Edgeworth, Stroud, Glos.

LAND & COMMUNITY

HARDWORKING vegetable worker with capital wants active interest in market garden (not community) within 100 miles Manchester. Box 637 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, smallholding, suitable market gardening. Herts or Essex preferred. Box 636 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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have been opened at our Barking and Walthamstow Branches

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Please send a contribution to: THE BEDFORD ISTITUTE ASSOCIATION, QUAKER STREET, LONDON, E.1.

75 Years of Social Service

Commentary

(Continued from page 2)

Social Policy Needed

THE Times keeps pegging away at the necessity of a positive social policy, but a note of exasperation begins to be heard in its arguments, particularly since the recent Cabinet changes. Its warnings became more sombre. "If British economic recovery is to be attempted by competitive power only, it will entail the most sensational fall in the standard of living in this country which has been seen anywhere since the Industrial Revolution began" (Times, Dec. 1).

That is plain speaking. But it appears to make no impression at all. One day men will wonder how the destinies of Britain came to be confided to a Prime Minister so unaware of the economic and social changes wrought by total war, so oblivious of the necessity of an attempt at conscious control of them. They will see the political tragedy of Britain in the dominance of Parliament by an anti-social national party. Our specious and superficial "national unity" will have been the cause of our downfall.

"FREE INDIA" MASS SALE

Help is urgently needed for a London street sale of "Free India" which is to be held on Saturday, Dec. 12, during the whole day. Those who recall the success of a similar sale of "Famine" in February will, no doubt, want to support this attempt to bring the facts before the London public.

Volunteers should report at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, between 10 a.m. and 8 p.m. on the day, if possible phoning Donald Port (Euston 4637) at some time before to notify the time at which they will be able to sell.

PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN C.O., age 27, would like to meet or correspond with companion (either sex) interested in theatre, music, but strictly teetotal. Box 631 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

CYCLE Mechanic or Lad. Age, experience if any, to Ferris, 257, Bath Rd., Hounslow, Middx. HOU 3889.

DOMESTIC Helper, N. Wales Guest House. Give details of experience. Write C. Heathcote, 212 Highfield Lane, Chesterfield.

EXPERIENCED GARDENER required. The Marian Sykes Guest House, Rose-on-Wye.

SOCIAL WORKER (London area) in connexion with Men's Hostel and Canteen. Furnished room, food and salary offered. Box 632 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, owing imminent detention of partner at His Majesty's expense, man able drive tractor and willing go with threshing machine etc. Very strong probability of permanency if suitable. 100% C.O. firm, Midlands. Box 635 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED SHORTLY. Qualified Chemists, either sex, to manage retail pharmacies, London E.15 district. Good salary, pacifists preferred. Vacancies also for unqualified assistants, with previous business experience if possible. Particulars Box 630 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG QUAKERS running country house for evacuated Nursery School urgently need additional help with cooking and household work. Full board and lodging, pocket money, and allowances. Full particulars from Box 629 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

7-9 or 9-11 year group teacher needed in Jan. for expanding school. Please state subjects offered and experience. Burgess Hill School, Redhurst, Cranleigh.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

ASSISTANT GROUNDSMAN on public playing fields or similar post required by C.O. conditionally exempt. Box 627 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 17 years banking experience, seeks post in food production or distribution. Box 626 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 31, agnostic, married (daughter), exasperated by monotony orthodox farming and intellectual isolation, seeks food production post; preferably near progressive school. Cottage or separate accommodation. Box 633 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 37, landwork exemption, seeks work within reach of cultural activities. Inexperienced but willing. Box 628 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

INTELLIGENT WOMAN, 44, desires post as Housekeeper to widower or pacifist community. Experienced, capable, good cook. Not London. Box 625 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

WYE VALLEY. (6 miles Monmouth) Guests received in peaceful country house, in parkland of 150 acres. Run by Christian community. Terms, from £2.17s. 6d. Apply Lindors Settlement, St. Briavels, Glos.

MISCELLANEOUS

P.S.U., S.E. London, requires voluntary services of young woman between 20 and 28 with some experience of girls' club work and social service. Write Pacifist Service Units, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD. Join The Movement and help to build the New World. Write today for Manifesto, to Hon. Organizer, 91 Circle Gdns., London S.W.19.

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